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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research was to examine the dimensions of role conflict and the mode of deviant adaptation among teachers in schools attempting to meet their goal of improvement. Relationships were found between teachers experiencing high role conflict and deviant modes of adaptation and the goal-attaining process. Teachers in schools experiencing less success in goal attainment were found to have more role conflict and were less likely to resolve the conflict than teachers in schools demonstrating higher success in the goal-attaining process. The results of the research indicated that an understanding of the nature of teacher role-personality conflict, and the resolution of that conflict, is essential to both researchers and to practicing school administrators. (Author)

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DEVIANT ADAPTATION AS RELATED TO EDUCATIONAL GOAL ATTAINMENT

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By

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INTRODUCTION: DEVIANT BEHAVIOR AND THE CONCEPT OF ADAPTATION

Theoretical-Conceptual Bases

One of the striking inadequacies of many social systems is their apparent lack of toleration for divergent and deviant behavior. As individuals, we often tend to value stability and equilibrium over uncertainty, disequilibrium and innovation. This divergent behavior may be viewed as abnormal and unhealthy, as evidenced by the reactions of many of our citizens to the social protest movement occurring within the United States. The 1968 presidential campaign gave rise to the slogan "law and order" as a counter to some of the activism and dissent on the campuses and in the cities. The pressures to conform are overwhelming, and such mechanisms as school socialization, peer pressure, and our high orientation to success, without failure, all are illustrative of this perspective. We find these convergent pressures in most institutional settings, and individuals frequently find themselves in direct conflict with the prescribed norms, roles and expectations of the institution in which they find themselves employed. It is essential that we know more about their reactions to this conflict. What are the alternatives open to them? How do they adapt or modify their behavior so that this conflict may be resolved or lessened?

Argyris identified basic, inherent incongruencies between the demands of formal organizations and the needs of a mature personality.[1] He stated that if the principles of a formal organization are applied they will place employees in an environment where they are given little control over their work-a-day world, and are therefore expected to be passive, dependent, and subordinate--conditions which inevitably lead to psychological failure, frustration and alienation. These strains, according to Argyris, result in differing adaptive behaviors on the part of the employees, and range from climbing the

organizational ladder, developing psychological defense reactions, becoming apathetic toward the organization and its goals, to outright departure from the organization. The remedy for all of these adaptive behaviors, states Argyris, is to enlarge the job and/or role requirements, thus changing the nature of the organizational structure.

Bakke also recognized the conflict between self-realization and organizational maintenance.[2] His solution was the "fusion process," which reconciled and united the strains in such a way as to maintain the integrity of organizations in the face of divergent interests of individuals, groups, other organizations, and the organization itself. He stated that a major symptom of ineffective fusion is the persistence of tensions, friction, factionalism in the organization, rebellious acts of individuals and groups, indifference and apathy of participants toward the needs of the organization, and a lack of interest of the participants in defending the organization. Again, both the organization and the individual must obtain "optimum self-actualization."

Presthus felt that organizations are miniature societies in which traditional social controls over the individual appear in sharp focus (1962). Formal organizations induce anxieties in their members simply because of their fundamental characteristics of complexity, size, specialization, hierarchy and authority, status and symbols, and oligarchic control--leading to the inevitable lack of identification with the organization, the deterioration of interpersonal relations, a lowering of morale, and having the "few" set off from the rest by their "preponderance of power." He identified three ways that members accommodate or adapt to this situation: (1) The Upward Mobile is when the employee is friendly to his superiors, "honors" the status quo, and accepts the organizational values as decisive, all of which lead to easy decision-making in conflict situations. (2) The Ambivalent is one who can't resist the appeals of power and success, but won't

play the required role to get them. He finds it hard to get along with authority and cannot play the organizational game. His individual friendships are placed above the good of the organization in conflict situations. (3) The Indifferent refuses to compete with, or for, the organization's rewards. He does his work, arrives and leaves on time, and his major interests are outside the organization. His work is separate from his life and he "sells his time for a certain number of hours and jealously guards the rest."

Carlson[3] offers another dimension to the concept of adaptation in his discussion of how students adapt to the mandatory nature of public schools, certainly well qualified within the definition of a social system. (1) Receptive Adaptation occurs when the individual finds himself in harmony with the institution and the relationship is not problematical; (2) Drop-out Adaptation occurs when the individual totally withdraws his participation even though it is unlawful to do so or necessitates the invoking of special arrangements. Between these two extremes are adaptations which rest upon a redefinition of the school or institution by the student. (3) Situational Retirement finds the individual physically but not mentally present. He goes to school because he is supposed to, but takes no active part in the activities, nor does he get in any kind of trouble. He has good attendance records along with good citizenship and behavior--he is, in fact, a model student. (4) Rebellious Adjustment involves some rejection of both the school and what the school has to offer. This adaptation requires the constant "testing" of the system and is disruptive to it. School is a game and the object is to see how much one can get away with; and (5) Side-payment Adaptation occurs when the individual utilizes the offerings of the school for "fringe benefits," rather than the central purposes of learning and knowledge. Competitive team sports, interaction with the opposite sex, the radio club, etc., all fulfill this function, according to Carlson.

Paradigms of Deviant Behavior

Parsons[4] has developed a useful paradigm for the analysis of "social interaction," a concept he feels to be of importance in understanding the influence of situations involving the individual and the organization. Central to this concept is his dimension of "conformity-deviance." The expectation of conformity always tends to be normative in social interactions, thus requiring common standards of what is acceptable or approved behavior within these interactions, so that a "complementarity of expectations" will result. Since this "expectational complementarity" is such a predominant concept in social interactions and organizational settings, the introduction of any strain or disturbance into the system calls for the development of some type of an adjustive mechanism which will allow the return to equilibrium and stability within that interaction. The paradigm may be viewed as follows:

	Activity	Passivity
Conformative Dominance	Compulsive Performance Orientation	Compulsive Acquiescence in Status Expectations
Alienative Dominance	Rebelliousness	Withdrawal

Figure 1. The Parsons Paradigm

The two mechanisms of conformity and alienation are defined by Parsons as follows: (1) Conformative Dominance is the more positive component since the sentiments expressed toward the organization are more idealistic than cynical. (2) Alienative Dominance consists of negative sentiments toward the organization and take the form of cynicism, rather than idealism.

In an organizational setting then, the individual may be subject not only to a strain

in his relations with the organization, but to an internal conflict in his own need-disposition system. Two further concepts employed by Parsons in the paradigm need definition: (1) Activity, which views deviation from the role of the individual in the interactive process, and results in his taking more initiative or a larger degree of control over the interaction process, than the role expectations call for. (2) Passivity is when the individual takes less initiative, or lets "alter" (i.e., the organization) control the situation and himself, to a lesser degree than called for by the role-expectations. Parsons then utilizes his model of deviant behavior in order to describe some of the adaptations to "non-complementarity" that an individual might make, with regard to his own perceptions of the conflict arising between the organizational needs and requirements, and those arising within himself.

Robert Merton[5] has developed another typology for analyzing organizational conflict and modes of adaptation:

MODES OF ADAPTATION	CULTURAL GOALS	INSTITUTIONAL MEANS
Conformist	+	+
Innovator	+	--
Ritualist	--	+
Retreatist	--	--
Rebel	±	±

+means agree with

--means disagree with

Figure 2. The Merton Typology

His attempt was to theorize how social structures exert pressure upon individuals to enable them to engage in non-conforming, rather than conforming behavior. He identifies two essential elements which are inherent in social and cultural structures: (1) Culturally defined goals, or the things worth striving for, and (2) Institutional means, or the way

the system controls the acceptable mores of moving toward the goals. Merton states that deviant or aberrant behavior may be regarded sociologically, as a sympton of "dissociation" between culturally prescribed aspirations and the socially structured avenues for realizing them. (For example: success is a highly valued goal in America, but the means for attaining it are not sanctioned or clear.) The next aspect of the Merton paradigm deals with the types of individual adaptations to the cultural (institutional or organizational) values: (1) The Conformist is one who accepts both the culturally prescribed goals and the institutional means for attaining them, and is both the most common example of non-deviancy, and is the most widely diffused. (2) The Innovator accepts the goals yet rejects the means, and is willing to take risks to attain the goals; (3) The Ritualist commonly rejects the goals of the organization or culture, but compulsively abides by the institutional norms or means, thus reducing any status anxiety which might result from this duality; (4) The Retreatist rejects both the culturally defined goals and the institutional means, thus leading to non-productivity, defeatism, and escape. This is the least common mode of adaptation; and (5) The Rebel, while rejecting both the means and the goals, has alternatives in mind, but still desires a total recreation of the social system. Merton states that stabilization will result when the culture attaches prestige to the goals, and the social structure permits access to them. However, the "strain toward anomie" will continue as long as there is disequilibrium between the goals of the organization and the means available to the individual to cope with them. He also suggests that in bureaucratic organizations which have: formal policies and regulations, hierarchical ranks, and a system of controls and sanctions, the predominant mode of adaptation would be ritualism, with innovation, retreatism, and rebellion being viewed as deviant. It also follows that if an organization values conformity and ritualism, in order to maintain stability only

those individuals reflecting those traits would be promoted to higher eschelons, since the other modes would not express a "high degree of reliability of behavior," or an "unusual degree of conformity."

Theory-Research Translation

An attempt to translate the theoretical concepts related to deviant behavior and modes of adaptation into a systematic empirical investigation was conducted by McKelvey[6] in a doctoral thesis at the M.I.T. Alfred P. Sloan School of Management. His study focused upon 121 professionals from two separate divisions of a research organization in an attempt to discover what happened when those professionals found that the organization employing them did not fulfill their research and career expectations. His study joined together the concepts and theories of Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton regarding deviant behavior and adaptation in such a way that he was able to develop an operational model which was tested by means of an empirical, quantitative research method. He next developed valid and reliable instrumentation with which to measure these concepts. The practical aspect of his inquiry began with the question: What happens when scientists and engineers begin to see that the organization they are working for is not fulfilling their professional expectations. He proceeded from the assumption that the individual found himself "stuck" in an interaction with an organization from which he douldn't get out, other than by quitting, or developing psychological defense mechanisms to repress his need-dispositions. He, thus, adapts his behavior toward the organization in some way. The focus then, was upon what the individual did within the interactive process itself. His model attempted to "describe in greater detail some of the possible kinds of deviant behavior an individual may express when forced to adapt to his perception of "exceptional non-complementarity." This relationship was stated in the following proposition:

> An individual perceiving that the organization of which he is currently a member has not fulfilled his initial expectations will tend toward a deviant style of interaction with this organization.

McKelvey next proceeded to synthesize the work of Parsons and Merton regarding deviant behavior and adaptation into the following paradigm:

	ACTIVITY	PASSIVITY
IDEALISM	Crusador	Ritualist
CYNICISM	Insurgent	Retreatist

Figure 3. The McKelvey Model

Parsons notions of conformative and alienative dominance form one dimension of deviant adaptation in McKelvey's model, yet the labels are different. Compulsive conformity becomes "idealism," which is "behavior or thought based on a conception of things as they should be or as one would wish them to be." Compulsive alienation is labeled "cynicism" which is an inclination "to question the sincerity and goodness of people's motives and actions." The operational definitions of this dimension are as follows: (1) Idealism is found when "the individual expressed positive sentiments toward the organization, maintaining that he has most of the control over his career advancement." (2) Cynicism is when " the individual expresses negative sentiments toward the organization, maintaining that the organization has most of the control over his career advancement." The second dimension of deviant adaptation is labeled by both Parsons and McKelvey as the activity-passivity dimension. Activity implies an adaptation which involves the individual taking more initiative and control over the interaction process than called for by the role expectations. Passivity implies an adaptation whereby the individual takes less initiative and control over the interaction than the role-expectations demand. The operational definitions of activity-passivity are as follows: (1) Activity is when the

individual expresses a preference to change the organization's expectations toward his own expectations, and (2) Passivity is when the individual expresses a preference to change his own expectations toward those of the organization. McKelvey also used a sociological definition of deviance, that is: "the kind of behavior that disrupts the stability or equilibrium of a social system, in this case an organization." He further states that any one of the four style combinations could be viewed as tending to upset stability, depending upon the perspective of the observer. It does seem apparent however, that the ritualistic modes are less likely to be deviant than any of the others, while the insurgency mode is more likely to be viewed as the most deviant, with crusading and retreatism somewhere in between. This follows the view earlier stated by Merton. McKelvey found that his model of deviant adaptation, as specifically operationalized for the organization he studied, was clearly supported by the results, which showed that perceived non-complementarity (self-role conflict) was correlated with cynicism, activity, and nonpassivity.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Background

The general purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between deviant modes of adaptation and the processes of goal attainment. Specifically the study attempted to describe the modes of adaptation occurring among personnel in eight elementary schools committed to the goal of school improvement, and to analyze the differences between schools demonstrating both high and low goal attaining processes.

The operational model developed by McKelvey (Figure 3) was utilized by the researcher to identify the modes of adaptation taken by school personnel in relation to their reactions to the goal of school improvement.

Deviant Behavior: Some Descriptions

As may be seen in the McKelvey paradigm, four adaptation modes result from the interaction of the four basic dimensions. The following is an attempt to briefly describe some of the possible kinds of behavior exhibited in each mode (adapted from McKelvey).[7]

1. The Crusader, or active idealist, is the individual who expresses positive sentiments and beliefs in the values, goals and expectations he thinks apply to the interaction system and exhibits vigorous action toward instituting them and counteracting abuses. For example, this would be the person who expresses confidence in the existing school structure, but at the same time thinks it could be improved, and thus continually pushes to have his ideas for improvement adopted. He is able to fulfill the institutional expectations and his own personal need-dispositions with a minimum of strain. This individual is willing to go out on a limb and take risks in order to insure the adoption of his ideas.

2. The Ritualist, or passive idealist, is the individual who expresses positive sentiments and belief in the values, goals and expectations he thinks apply to the interaction system but adapts to the apparent abuses and conflicting expectations rather than risk an attempt to change them. This is the person who likes the existing system, although also thinking it could be improved, but who conforms to the existing structure rather than stick his neck out by pushing to have it changed. He has made the decision to conform to institutional expectations rather than express his own personal dispositions. His criteria for behavior comes from others rather than himself and he sees himself only as a means to serve the system ends.

3. The Insurgent, or active cynic, is the person who expresses negative sentiments and frustration against the established expectations of the system as being full of abuses and inequities, and exhibits vigorous action toward getting rid of the existing system or ignoring it. This would be the kind of person who always expresses opposition to the organization's norms in a negative way, even hostile, appearing frustrated that his ideas for change are not adopted, and thus maintains that the only solution is to destroy the system and start all over again. He expresses his own needs over the institutional expectations, rejecting them as personally irrelevant and meaningless. His criteria for behavior is within himself and he sees the system as the means to serve his own ends.

4. The Retreatist, or passive cynic, expresses negative sentiments and frustration against the established expectations as being fraught with abuses and inequities, but chooses to withdraw in the face of his negative feelings and unwillingness to actively fight the system. The example would be the person who is in opposition to the school's norms and goals, who expresses negative and hostile feelings if asked, but who prefers to withdraw from

> attempting to influence the school by turning his attention elsewhere; he is in the school but not of it. He rejects the fulfillment of both his personal needs and institutional expectations while attempting to escape from all requirements and obligations. He is a "Mr. Nobody" in the school--apathetic, indifferent, and non-involved. The concept developed by Carlson of "situational retirement" may well apply to this individual.

Educational Change and School Improvement: The Process of Goal Attainment

John W. Gardner[8] has called for the creation of self-renewing institutions which would develop problem-solving mechanisms capable of fostering continuous change and renewal within our social systems. Such mechanisms would involve several attributes, among which are: (1) Open communication and dialogue; (2) Direct participation, by a high degree of individuals in the reshaping of the institution; (3) Leadership which is capable of relevance in the clarification of issues and the sifting of alternatives; (4) The development of effective means toward the resolution of conflict; (5) Pluralism in variety, alternatives, and, in the foci of power and initiative; and (6) The release of individual potential so that human resources may be developed to the fullest. Gardner goes on to say that we must break our habit of concentrating exclusively upon the "routine repair" of our institutions and instead, undertake imaginative redesign which prevents the kind of institutional decay which "imprisons the spirit, thwarts the creative impulse, diminishes individual adaptability and limits the possibility of freedom."

Recognizing that such an imaginative redesign of American education was required, the Kettering Foundation established the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc. (/I/D/E/A/). The need for institutional self-renewal became the instigating force in the creation of the League of Cooperating Schools, which is an attempt to create a social system wherein change and improvement are cultivated as the norm.[9]

John I. Goodlad has stated that schooling suffers from an overdose of do-goodism.[10] Lectures, consulting, workshops and the like accomplish little with regard to self-appraisal

and progress which lead to significant educational changes. Few opportunities are provided the individuals within a given social system to get involved and work together in the process of change--everyone seems to be doing it for them or to them, rather than helping to develop and nurture self-direction and self-evaluation which is requisite to the self-renewal process.

During the second year of operation, the /I/D/E/A/ Research Division developed a model which represents an attempt to measure the processes a school faculty employs as it seeks to attain its goal of school improvement, an objective agreed upon prior to entrance into the League. This model sets forth statements about the substantive and procedural characteristics of those processes, which involve Dialogue, Decision-Making, and Self-Directed Action in the school, with respect to curriculum, instruction and school organization. This goal-attaining process, or DDA, can be appraised at planning sessions for teachers and principals, at area meetings or conferences within the League, in the individual League school, and even at the team or sub-group level. In short, it is a means whereby individuals within a given social system can examine their own behavior as they become entwined in the process of change. The process can be made clearer from an example recently cited in a League school: [11]

> School D was dissatisfied with the reporting system developed by their school district and went about developing a Pupil Progress Report this way--
>
> (Prelude: Research)--First, a research group of staff members studied reports and guides from other districts and states, and reported their findings to the total group.
>
> Dialogue: Next, "we broke into primary and upper grade groups to discuss what we had heard, what ideas we each had, and to outline a sketchy plan of action. . . ."
>
> Decision-Making: "We agreed on certain specifics. . . ."

Action: "Before adjourning, we assigned specific volunteers to research and establish developmental tasks and/or pertinent comments about these tasks. . . ."

Dialogue: "We met once again to discuss. . . and report our conclusions. . . ."

Decision-Making. "We were all in much agreement. . . ."

Action: "Before adjourning, we discussed having someone construct a 'mock-up' of the report for use in future meetings."

"Voila! A new Pupil Progress Report, researched, developed, and written entirely by School D's staff, through its use of systematic problem-solving techniques."

DDA then, stands for the essential and interrelated steps necessary for the problem-solving mechanism called for by Gardner, Goodlad and others in the search for self-renewing institutions.

METHODS OF THE STUDY

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated and tested in this investigation: (a) schools demonstrating high goal attaining processes will have significantly higher scores on the activity and idealism modes of adaptation than schools demonstrating low goal attaining processes; and (b) schools demonstraing low goal attaining processes will have significantly higher scores on the passivity and cynicism modes of adaptation than schools demonstrating high goal attaining processes.

Population and Sample

The population for this study was selected from the League of Cooperating Schools, sponsored by the Research Division of the Institute for the Development of Educational Activities, Inc., (/I/D/E/A/). The League consists of eighteen elementary schools located in differing communities throughout Southern California, and was selected for this study

because of their basic commitment to the goal of school improvement.[12]

The eight schools comprising the sample for the study were derived from ratings based upon their progress toward this goal. The top and bottom four schools were then compared in relation to self-role conflict and deviant adaptation. A tdal of 203 teachers comprised the sample, 95 from the high goal attaining schools and 105 from the low, with 93 per cent of the teachers in the eight schools participating in the study.

Instrumentation

The Independent Variable. Measurement of the independent variable consisted of two parts. (1) The first part required the identification of the degree of self-role conflict which existed among teachers and schools with respect to "real" or perceived principal expectations for the teacher role in the school and personal needs. The Teacher Behavior Questionnaire,[13] or TBQ, was used to obtain three different measures of "Self-Role Conflicts" which were the item-by-item differences between teachers' perceptions of the principal's expectations (T_x), the principal's statement of expectations (P_x),[14] and the teachers' own statement of needs (T_n). Since the concept of adaptation requires some conflict situation to adapt to, differences between expectations and needs were considered suitable for the purposes of this investagation.[15] (2) The independent variable for the study, deviant adaptation, was measured by the Teacher Interaction Style Questionnaire, or T.I.S.Q.[16] Deviant behavior was defined as "the kind of behavior that disrupts the stability or equilibrium of a social system."[17]

The Dependent Variable. The dependent variable for this study was school improvement, the stated goal of the League of Cooperating Schools. The goal attaining process leading to school improvement was identified as DDA, or Dialogue, Decision-Making and Action.[18] (a) Dialogue was defined as the two-way process of communication

between principal and teachers. (b) Decision-Making was identified as those school decisions made in a shared situation involving both teachers and the principal. (c) Action was defined as some form of change resulting from the first two processes. Goal attainment, then, was measured in process rather than content terms.

Measurement of this variable consisted of four aspects:[19] (1) League reports written by staff members in each League school were content analyzed in the Spring, 1969, in relation to processes of Dialogue, Decision-Making and Action. (b) Interviews conducted in each of the 18 League schools were also content analyzed on the same basis, in the Spring, 1969. (c) Items pertaining to the processes of goal attainment were selectively extracted from the Gordon Teacher Leadership Scales,[20] which were empirically tested by Lieberman in the League schools in the Spring of 1969. (d) School Description Questionnaire IV, administered, Spring, 1969, provided quantitative measures of Dialogue, Decision-Making and Action.

Based upon the preceding four procedures, a composite ranking was made by the /I/D/E/A/ staff, thus leading to a continuum showing the four highest and four lowest schools on the three dimensions of Dialogue, Decision-Making and Action-- the goal attaining process leading to school improvement.

Methodology

Research Team. This study was the result of cooperative research in attempting to analyze schools from a social systems perspective. One study dealt with the perceived leader behavior of the principal[21] while the other focused upon the value dimension on the part of the principals, teachers, and members of the community.[22]

Data Collection. Two basic approaches were employed in collecting the data for the study: Quantitative Phase. This phase required that responses be obtained from

the school personnel on both the Teacher Behavior Questionnaire and the Teacher Interaction Questionnaire. A pilot school was selected from among the League population and several approaches were developed and employed to obtain closer cooperation between the research team and the school staffs.[23] Non-Quantitative Phase. The second phase of the study involved a more subjective approach to the gathering of data. Recognizing the limitations of questionnaires in providing necessary insights and reasons for behavior, the research team decided to use interviews and observations to probe each of the dimensions of the study through a more in-depth and comprehensive questioning of the respondents. Interviews were thus conducted with over 90 per cent of the sample and each of the 8 principals.

Analysis of Data. The two hypotheses of the study were tested by means of the well-known t-test. Comparisons were made between high and low self-role conflict teachers and deviant modes of adaptation, in both high and low goal attaining schools. Rank order correlations were also computed when testing the magnitude of differences with respect to the independent and dependent variables. Analyses of Variance and Pearson Product Moment Correlations were not found to be meaningful in testing the hypotheses of the study.

FINDINGS

Quantitative

It is now appropriate to turn to the hypotheses, as stated in the null form, for a more thorough examination with respect to the findings.

Hypothesis A: There is no significant difference in scores on the Activity and Idealism modes of adaptation between the high and low goal attaining process schools.

The results of the data analyses are presented in Table I. They indicate that those

schools demonstrating high goal attaining processes have significantly higher scores on both the Activity (t = 1.98; significance, .05) and Idealism dimensions (t = 1.79; significance, .05), than do those schools demonstrating low goal attaining processes.

Table I. Comparison of Schools Demonstrating High and Low Goal Attaining Processes on Modes of Adaptation

Modes Of Adaptation	Schools Demonstrating High Goal Attaining Processes			Schools Demonstrating Low Goal Attaining Processes			$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2$	t (df=189)
	$\bar{X}_1$	σ	N	$\bar{X}_2$	σ	N		
1. Activity	4.26	1.19	87	3.89	1.36	104	0.37	1.98*
2. Passivity	4.19	1.23	87	4.66	1.93	104	-0.47	1.94*
3. Idealism	4.71	1.07	87	4.42	1.12	104	0.29	1.79*
4. Cynicism	4.07	1.12	87	4.09	1.24	104	-0.02	0.14

*Significant .05 (One-Tail Test)

Activity. The fact that teachers in schools having more success in attaining their goal of improvement had significantly higher scores on this dimension indicates that they are taking more initiative and control over the interaction process than called for by the role expectations. Further, they are trying to change these expectations toward those closer to their own. One explanation for this might be that "deviant" behavior is in fact encouraged by the norms of the League of Cooperating Schools as well as by the principals. Teachers are encouraged to experiment with new approaches to education so that the school might be improved and, in so doing, express more "deviant" modes of adaptation which they consider to be necessary in trying to improve the status-quo of the school. In a more static social system, such as a traditional school, these same modes might be totally disruptive to the total operation of the school. In schools

demonstrating less improvement, this may indicate why they have not had better success in attempting to reach their goal of improvement. The results of a rank order correlation are presented in Table II and show that even though there were differences in terms of rank order on the goal attaining process, they were not statistically significant (ρ= 120, not significant).

Table II. Comparison of Schools Demonstrating High and Low Goal Attaining Processes on Modes of Adaptation (Rank Order Correlation)

Modes of Adaptation	$\sum D^2$	$6\sum D^2$	$N(N^2-2)$	ρ
1. Activity	74	444	.880	.120
2. Passivity	100	600	1.190	-.190
3. Idealism	18	108	.214	.786*
4. Cynicism	102	612	1.214	-.214

*Significant .05

Idealism. The data presented in Tables I and II both show significant differences between high and low goal attaining schools with respect to the magnitude of the differences between the high and low schools by indicating that the more success a school is having in trying to improve, the more the teachers in those schools express the Idealism mode of adaptation (ρ=.786; significance, .05). They express positive sentiments about the goals and values of the school and maintain that they have the most control over the interactive process between themselves and the school administration. Again, if one of the primary goals of the League is to explore new ideas and techniques for improving education, then teachers in the more successful goal attaining schools feel very much in step with what is happening within their own schools. The high Idealism

scores did not show up for those schools having low success in reaching their goal of improvement.

Hypothesis B: There is no significant difference in scores on the Passivity and Cynicism modes of adaptation between the high and low goal attaining process schools. Table I presents the results of a t-test and it shows that schools demonstrating low processes of goal attainment were significantly higher on the Passivity dimension (t= 1.94; significance, .05). Cynicism scores were not shown to be significantly different between the high and low goal attaining schools (t=0.14 N.S.). The data from Table II present the findings from a rank order correlation between the schools' rank on goal attainment and their adaptation modes of Passivity and Cynicism, with no significant relationships found. It now becomes appropriate to discuss each mode of adaptation separately.

Passivity. The rank order in Table II do not show a significant relationship between the goal attaining process and Passivity, even though the scores were in the hypothesized direction (rho=.190). However, when the schools demonstrating high goal attaining processes were compared to the low, on magnitude of scores on the Passivity dimension, significant differences were found in the hypothesized direction (t=1.94; significance, .05). Teachers in schools not successfully attaining their goal of improvement were expressing the Passivity mode of adaptation in that they were taking less initiative and control over the interaction process than called for by the role expectations, and merely adapted their own expectations to those of the school. It may be remembered that in the high goal attaining schools, Activity was the dominant mode of adaptation, thus illustrating the difference in how teachers react to a similar stimulus, in this case, the goal of school improvement.

Cynicism. Table I presents the results of the data analysis comparing high and low goal attaining schools on the adaptation mode of Cynicism. There were no significant differences between the two types of schools (t=0.14; not significant). The same result held true when a rank order correlation was applied to the same schools on the Cynicism dimension (Table II). Even though the rho was in the direction hypothesized, it was not statistically significant (p=-.214, not significant). The expression of negative sentiments toward the goals of the school or its values did not differ significantly, then, between those schools having more success in reaching their goal, and those schools having difficulty.

Summary of Findings

It may be generally stated at the outset that educational background, marital status, length of time in the school, age, sex and teaming experience have no relationship to deviant modes of adaptation. It would seem that variables more akin to personality dimensions would have been helpful in uncovering specific causes or reasons for adaptive behavior. Obviously more indepth and long-range analysis is required with respect to this area.

It is more productive to discuss the findings relative to the hypotheses posed for the study:

Hypothesis A: There is no significant difference in scores on the Activity and Idealism modes of adaptation between the high and low goal attaining process schools.

1. Activity and Idealism were shown to be the dominant modes of adaptation in schools showing a higher degree of success in reaching their goal improvement closely paralleling the definition of "crusader." The high scores on these dimensions indicate that the teachers in the high goal

attaining schools tend to express positive sentiments about the goals and values of the school and show more initiative over the interactive process than called for by the role expectations. Either the principal of the school, or the norms of the League of Cooperating Schools have encouraged such action on the part of the teachers and they seem to have risen to take the challenge. It thus seems that when a school is having success in attempting to improve, certain forms of deviant adaptation may be desirable in that situation.

Typical statements included:

> Most school decisions here are made through joint action by the principals and the teachers working together.
>
> This is a self-directed faculty--they feel they are in charge of the school.
>
> Teachers in this school are very active, if they want to be. They can get in or get out and are free to select their own program.
>
> We are working together for a common goal--individual children.
>
> I like it here. I feel a part of the group.

Hypothesis E: <u>There is no significant difference in scores on the Passivity and and Cynicism modes of adaptation between the high and low goal attaining process schools.</u>

1. There were no significant differences found in Cynicism between the high and low goal attaining process schools.

2. Higher scores on Passivity were found in the schools demonstrating low processes of goal attainment. Those high scores indicated that one of the reasons why the schools might not be improving was that the teachers seem to be taking less initiative over the interactive process and were consequently adapting their own expectations to those of the school. In order for a school to

progress in its attempt to improve, the teachers need to take more initiative, as was shown by the results of Hypothesis C.

The quotes are indicative:

> There doesn't seem to be much enthusiasm.
>
> The upper and primary grades are cut off from each other.
>
> Faculty meetings are disgusting and ridiculous . . . people don't seem to be interested in kids.
>
> We have never discussed or even defined goals--never get any agreement on anything here.

CONCLUSIONS

Schools which were having greater success in attaining their goal of improvement tended to allow and, even encourage, certain modes of "deviant behavior." If a school is trying to get its personnel to seek out new ideas and programs, there must be a certain degree of risk-taking behavior which is beneficial to the school, since there are few recipes for innovation. The staff should be allowed the "freedom to fail" without condemnation or repression, either by the principal or a majority of their colleagues. In addition, this encouragement of deviant behavior within the school setting was found to be "situationally relative" in that it was identified in both high and low goal attaining schools. In cases of strong principal leadership, the teachers followed his lead. In other settings, the teachers themselves exercised the necessary initiative and direction. If a school staff can discuss educational issues and make decisions together, then the resulting action which follows is more likely to lead to goal attainment. This conclusion is quite timely in that one of the issues in the development of teacher militancy during the recent decade has been the demand for more decision-making authority on the part of teachers.

The use of the McKelvey Model for analyzing educational organizations was most productive and useful. Both studies were able to empirically illuminate the topic of adaptive behavior from its previously theoretical-conceptual formulations.

Limitations

The preceding conclusions are subject to the following limitations:

1. The Population. The population for the study was the 18 member League of Cooperating Schools. These schools contain only grades K-8 and are all located in Southern California. While differing quite widely with respect to size, age and socio-economic indices, they were not chosen on the basis of rigorous random sampling techniques. In addition, a variety of selection criteria were applied when schools entered the League in 1966, thus further limiting the degree of generalizability to the League population.

2. The Dependent Variable. The dependent variable for the study, school improvement, was measured by evaluating the processes of dialogue, decision-making and action in each of the 18 member schools. It has been shown in this study that schools are continually in the process of change with respect to this goal. The measures taken in the Spring, 1969, did not account for the frequent dramatic influences upon the schools, which ranged from a threatened teacher strike, and high staff turnover, to moving to a new physical facility during the Fall, 1969, when the study was conducted. The importance of this dimension is in demonstrating the changeability of both human nature and the external environment, illustrated by the observation that some schools were found to be "leveling-off" in their goal attaining processes, while others were just beginning to make their move upward.

Recommendations

For Research

(1) Long range studies should be conducted in school settings, beginning with new teachers, to ascertain the processes inherent within individuals and schools which lead to Cynicism, Passivity, and Insurgency. Related to this would be investigations which center upon personality variables and situational factors which influence conflict and deviant behavior. Are certain personalities more prone to Passivity, Cynicism, Activity and Idealism? When do individuals in effect, give up and adapt? What is the extent of conforming pressures in schools which cause adaptive behavior?

(2) The relationship between deviant adaptation and goal attainment must be thoroughly investigated with respect to the specific needs of children? How are student outcomes affected? How do teacher-student relationships differ?

(3) Some effort should be made to analyze the "cycles of change" occurring within schools trying to improve? What causes the "leveling-off" process which affects both individuals and institutions as a whole? What factors affect the teachers' responses to school goal attainment? Why does teacher leadership suddenly emerge and become self-directive?

For Educational Administration

(1) A climate conducive to the development of two-way communication processes should be the aim of educational administration. If a school is to attain its stated goals, then joint involvement in the processes of dialogue, decision-making and action will lessen the degree of conflict and adaptive behavior through interactive communication processes. Both principals and teachers will then have a clearer picture of each other's expectations for the teacher role, as

well as recognizing the importance of personal need-dispositions in an organizational setting.

(2) School administrators should encourage, rather than discourage "deviance," or risk-taking behavior on the part of school staffs, particularly if that staff is attempting to improve its educational program. Individuals should feel that when "going out on a limb," the administration will back them up to the extent that failure is tolerated by the organization. On the other hand, administration should deal directly with Cynicism and Passivity through the creation of communication and group problem solving mechanisms, which, by their very nature, would tend to give all personnel a voice in the procedures of the school and thus work toward the fulfillment of the organization's goals.

(3) A study by Brown[24] has demonstrated that business administrators have a greater propensity to risk-taking behavior and participatory organizational climate than public school administrators. Universities involved in preparing educational leaders should thus reexamine their curriculum and practices to insure that they are not only selecting those individuals prone to risk-taking, but providing them with experiences which encourage and reinforce that behavior. A thorough understanding of communication skills and the socio-psychological dimensions of organizations is essential if educational leaders are to develop and implement creative alternatives to our existing educational programs.

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